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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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577 574 261 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

577 626 521 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

152 "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sày-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaúlaw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

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"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

### 2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

000 Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

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To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

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Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

### *3. Methods of Training*

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[891] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyâ-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowl-
edging their deception, even after it had become patent and after
they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of
the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
577 His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may
sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case
and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories;
I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not
theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with
few downright lazy women in all Apayao. But the males? As long
as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after
that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married,
I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own
code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical
climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile
soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber,
rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means
of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward
activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it,
so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually
lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we
compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain
Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading
a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this,
Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
626 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-áu* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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here and there a tree seared and partially blackened, a *lappúg*, a pitiable victim of its most powerful enemy: fire.

A field that is littered out of proportion with rubbish, branches and canes (*zakób*), is said to be *nazubsí*, and that means a few days of extra work for the Isneg. Should there be one or more *ruńád* (big trees, left standing, but dead and partially burnt or blackened) in the *kómān*, the Isneg must beware of cutting them down, as such huge black masses will serve for scarecrows against wild boars and deer, and keep them at a distance.

The only occasional exception to all this desolation is the tree inhabited by *Pinańgáw*, an outstanding witness to the power of its protector: the fire passed it without leaving any enduring mark.

As soon as the burning is done, everybody who is interested, goes and takes a look at the place, which can now be done without hindrance, as everything is open to view. In case the wife of the Isneg who prepared this *kómān* makes some statement intimating that their *kómān* is small, the husband *mańanasá*, that is, he cuts down either a small or a considerable part of the withered grasses and sedges at the edge of the burnt field, so as to satisfy both his wife and custom, the latter obliging him to act that way under the circumstances; and this he may not do remissly, because, if the *ańanasá* is performed carelessly, nothing will grow at that place, which after all is easily understood.

The morning after the burning of the field, a few seeds are confided to the ground. This is called *magpaâyab*, and the ceremony consists in scattering from six to ten seeds somewhere in the *kómān*. It may be performed by either men or women, but it must be accompanied by an appropriate prayer. In some districts, for instance at Bayag, this ceremony is performed the day before the first planting: this will be mentioned at its proper place, and there also will be given the prayer that accompanies the *agpaâyab*.

The only thing left to be done is the cleaning of the field after burning; this is called *manudú-*, and generally husband and wife, sons and daughters, in fact the whole household, help one another to bring it to a successful issue. The larger boughs and branches that have withstood the conflagration, are mostly piled up in stacks, to be used for fuel: this is called *maxaróboń*. The other rubbish, canes of bamboo grass being usually the most abundant, is gathered into heaps and then burnt: this is what the Isneg call *maxopó*, a term applied to the

the feasts. He like the *basi*. He knew how to search for lice and, whenever he caught some, he ate them. The monkey stayed in that place for five years. One day, when all the people went to work in their fields, Essang, a man, was left alone in the *barangay* because he was sick. The monkey went to his house and sat with Essang near the fire. When he got tired of sitting, he grabbed Essang's blanket and ran away. He threw the blanket into the river. After doing this, he returned to the *barangay* and climbed up in the bamboo trees. That afternoon, when the people came home, they all could not find the monkey anywhere in the *barangay*. They felt sorry because they loved that monkey.

At last, Essang told them that he had killed the monkey because it stole his blanket. All the people became angry with Essang. They scolded him until he begged for mercy.

*Storia na ya magatawa napobre unay...*

## THE STORY OF A HUSBAND AND WIFE WHO WERE VERY POOR

(Apayao River Dialect)

——*Kito nuna ñga algaw, attan da ñga magatawa ñga napobre la unay.*

——During the olden days, there was a woman and her husband who were very poor.

——*Diddi ñga tulay ay awan da ñga mababalin, no cayat da ya mangan, mauwe da ñga manglo ka magbayo ka da to ari.*

ooo home, he was surprised that the star was changed into a beautiful girl. Uguy was changed mto a handsome warrior. The wide land around them became their country.

Uguy the Maingal and the star his wife, became the rulers of all that country.

*Storia ne Lindawan kito nuna ñga Algaw*

## THE STORY OF LINDAWAN DURING THE OLDEN DAYS

(Apayao River Dialect)

——*Kito nuna ñga algaw attan canu ñga isa ñga tulay ñga naggahan ke Lindawan.*

——Once upon a time there lived in a settlement a man named Lindawan.

——*Iddi ñga tulay ay awan na ñga kailian ta kalocsawan ñgamin da ya kabulan na hapo ka pangasna.*

[626] ——That man had no companion, as every body hated him because he was very troublesome.

——*Iddi ñga tulay ay awan na ñga attawa.*

——That man had no wife.

——*Magbiag ga la ka magkadada ka da dadduma ñga babalay ñga pagsapulan na ka kanan na.*

——He lived only by wandering from place to place in order to hunt for food.

——*Isa ñga algaw naway nagdadadac, ñgamay kane naka sowac ka dalumpeng ñga boto se ya nagmama, mabalin nagmama nagdda se natutog.*